History of Anthropology Newsletter

Volume 32
Issue 1 *June 2005*

Article 3

1-1-2005

Alfred Metraux and *The Handbook of South American Indians*: A View From Within

Edgardo Krebs

ALFRED METRAUX AND THE HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS: A VIEW FROM WITHIN

Edgardo Krebs
Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution

The author, together with anthropologists Harald Prins (Kansas State University) and Sarah Fee(Smithsonian Institution), is curating the exhibition "Alfred Metraux: From Fieldwork to Human Rights. The Itinerary of a 20th Century Ethnographer." The exhibit is scheduled to open in December 2006 at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. The article that follows was presented in a slightly different form at the 2003 AAA Annual Meeting in Chicago.

Whether it is to examine the role of temperament and fate in defining a career in social anthropology or to attempt the ambitious project of reading the history of the discipline from a biographical center—a symphonic rather than a taxonomic approach—the circumstances of Alfred Metraux's itinerary will pose a constant challenge and will not disappoint.

On the question of fate, we know that Alejandro Xul Solar, the charismatic Argentine painter who was friends with Metraux in the 1930s (and one of the major influences on the writings of Jorge Luis Borges), drew an astral chart of the ethnographer. This was a serious study of character which Xul reserved only for the people that mattered most to him. The chart has survived and looks very much like one of Xul's visionary paintings. Even though it uses some of the recognizable conventions and signs of Medieval astrologers, the chart is hermetic to this particular writer. Metraux's mother, on the other hand, was straightforward in her assessment: "you are an ethnographer because you are one of us." Cipora Saffris was born in Tiflis, Russia, near the Caucasus, a place of passage between East and West, of caravans, campfires and story-tellers. She was of Jewish ancestry, possibly a Khazar. Her son, Alfred, she surmised, was an ethnographer because he had been in an earlier incarnation a member of a trading caravan, of many trading caravans, going far into the territories of alien peoples. This is how Cipora Saffris—an "Oriental woman", as her daughter Vera Conne[1] defined her—saw the cast of the dice.

Metraux's father on the other hand was a medical doctor and a Swiss citizen, a member of a family of bourgeois professionals and Calvinist ministers. Alfred was born in Lausanne in 1902, but shortly afterwards followed his father to an expatriate destination in the Andean province of Mendoza, Argentina. He spent around seven decisive years of his childhood there. We know that he learned how to ride horses and that he would gravitate towards the outskirts of the town to meet and befriend Mapuche Indians of his age. At thirteen, when Alfred went to a Gymnasium in Lausanne for his high school education, he was already a cultural metis.

After finishing high school, Metraux first attended l'Ecole de Chartres in France, where he was trained in history and archival studies. But he quickly switched to ethnology, enrolling in l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris (1922-26) where he was a disciple of Marcel Mauss, and in the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (the present-day INALCO), where he studied African languages under Maurice Delafosse. He next traveled to Goteborg, Sweden, to finish writing his dissertation on the Tupinamba Indians and study with one of the pioneers of ethnographic research in South America, the zoologist-turned-anthropologist Erland Nordenskiold.[2]

The main purpose of this brief article is to point out the influence that his childhood years in Argentina had on Metraux's outlook and choice of topics as an ethnographer, and to outline some of the difficulties Metraux faced in his early career as he tried to find work at American universities and participated in the planning and execution of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians.

Andean childhood. Metraux, age 11, on a criollo horse in Mendoza, Argentina.

Metraux did not have initially a smooth relationship with Marcel Mauss. He was uncomfortable with theory in a way that perhaps only "natives" can be. "Being there" for Metraux was paramount, and recording accurately was the first duty of a good professional ethnographer.[3] He shared this dislike for interpretation with another conspicuous metis, the naturalist and writer William Henry Hudson. The son of American expatriates who had settled in the Argentine Pampas in the early nineteenth century, Hudson did not read the works of Charles Darwin uncritically. Darwin probably spent more time in Argentina than in any other country during the famous voyage of the Beagle. But Hudson spotted some mistakes in Darwin's texts and was not remiss to write to the eminent scientist to point them out. Darwin corrected the mistakes, reacting with his usual bonhomie. Not so Francis Darwin, who excoriated Hudson in his father's autobiography, which he edited. What is significant about this episode in relation to Metraux and to anthropology is that Hudson recognized species by their behavior. More than a century before the science of ethology was established, he was already recognizing and describing behavioral traits that were used to identify species. And these insights can only come as a result of prolonged familiarity—the sort of familiarity that fieldwork seeks to achieve and that Metraux considered essential in his own discipline and placed before the impulse to theorize.

The correspondence between Metraux and Mauss that has survived is very scant, but there is enough to show the patience of the master with his rebellious student. Mauss was not advocating neglect of fieldwork nor of the archival and historical studies that were always a strong aspect of any research undertaken by Metraux. He simply pointed out that if a certain Indian ritual is recorded by a chronicler traveling in Brazil during the seventeenth century and then recorded again by another visitor two centuries later among the same group, the ethnologist had to consider that he or she had discovered an important key for the understanding of that particular culture. Metraux was in his mid-twenties when he was arguing via correspondence with his mentor. Eventually he would understand the value of such analytical efforts, but he remained temperamentally inclined to description rather than theory, and to burying his flinty and elegant insights in a literary narrative informed by history.

Metraux sent some of the letters to Mauss from Argentina. In 1928, at the age of twenty-six, and after completing his dissertation, he returned to the country of his childhood as the founding director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucuman. Tucuman had been an important administrative and university town in colonial times and in 1928 the local industrial elite (mainly owners of sugar mills) attempted to revive and assert a regional tradition that would distinguish their province from the capital city of Buenos Aires.[4] An institute of ethnology, dedicated to the study of Tucuman's Indian past, seemed to be a good choice for the sugar mill owners. They themselves were the biological and cultural result of that scarcely acknowledged and unexamined past, which in radical ways stood in opposition to the European-oriented cosmopolitanism of Buenos Aires.

Metraux was hired for the position upon the recommendation of Paul Rivet, the leading French Americanist of the time and director of the Musee d'Ethnographie du Trocadero in Paris (later, the Musee de l'Homme). Rivet played then (and for many years thereafter) an important role within the French administration in selecting young francophone ethnographers for strategic positions overseas.[5]

Metraux attacked his new duties with an energy and zeal that would characterize him throughout his life. He organized and procured the funding for several ethnographic expeditions to the Gran Chaco, the Calchaqui valleys and the Chipaya and Siriono Indians of

Bolivia. He maintained a furious pace of correspondence with Nordenskiold, Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, Franz Boas, Mauss, and—most significantly for the purposes of this article—he embarked on the publication of a scholarly journal, Revista de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, which was devoted to original essays and articles on the ethnography of South American Indians. This journal—published unapologetically in five languages—was meant to establish the field of South American ethnology by the sheer force of its scope and quality. As editor, Metraux sought to include unpublished manuscripts of notable deceased ethnographers such as Guido Boggiani and innovative contributions by contemporary fieldworkers such as Curt Nimuendaju. The bibliographies of the articles were also a dictionary of sorts on the history of anthropology in South America during the nineteenth century and before. The names of Jesuit sources and German explorers of Brazil appeared side by side, providing a critical mass of literature upon which contemporary fieldwork should be based. Metraux's criteria for assembling articles were not guided by any pre-ordained classificatory conceit. Rather, he allowed the knowledgeable writer to express his or her knowledge and style. The avowed model for the Revista was the German journal Anthropos. But in offering a perspective on the Indians of South America which was the product of direct and prolonged contact, Metraux was also giving expression to a larger project for himself personally, and even more so to Argentina. Metraux was giving an Indian past and an Indian present to a country reputedly without Indians and thoroughly "European". His own ambiguous identity, neither totally Swiss nor Russian nor cosmopolitan Argentine, informed this enterprise. Metraux's letters in Spanish to colleagues and friends in Argentina show that he spoke and wrote the language as a local, even mastering the double entendres and lingo which native speakers use to convey subtle meanings opaque to outsiders. He was also fluent in French, English, German, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish, and could read Latin. When in the field with, for example, the Wichi of the Argentine Chaco, he would immediately compile lists of terms and evidenced an ease with picking up the new language, a gift that could at times overwhelm him.[6]

Metraux stayed in Argentina heading the new institute and publishing its journal from 1928 to 1934. It was clear to him by then that his efforts to start a vernacular tradition in social anthropology, based on fieldwork, would not succeed. He was not able to recruit disciples; he had mounting problems with the bureaucracies that exerted control over his actions; and a surging climate of nationalism (associated, in Argentina, with a newfangled Hispanic tradition that negated the Indian past) convinced him that he should look for his professional future elsewhere. This article is not the place to discuss the personal experiences that Metraux encountered in the field during this intense period of his life. Suffice it to say that for Metraux, the practice of ethnography was often perilously contiguous to his search for self and a sense of wellbeing. He was a scrupulously trained ethnographer and well read. He was also aware of the blinders and possible dead ends of the profession, a twist in his temperament that placed him closer to Victor Segalen and Arthur Rimbaud than to Mauss or Nordenskiold. He empathized sincerely with the plight of the Indians and approached them with an ease unencumbered by the technical mannerisms of more conventional colleagues. Even his use of photography reveals a longing for portraying his subjects as people, not specimens. The end of Metraux's career in Argentina came with his failure to convince the government to appoint him "Protector of Indians." This was a proposal he made to the Minister of the Interior after an ethnographic tour of the Chaco in 1932. During this tour Metraux suffered a crisis and considered abandoning anthropology to dedicate himself to the welfare of the Indians. His report and recommendations to the Minister went unheeded.

It is against this background that Metraux's arrival in the United States in 1935 needs to be understood. He could rightly consider himself then to be a seasoned ethnographer of the Chaco and of the Bolivian highlands. He had several solid publications in his name. He had started an Institute of Ethnology with an ambitious agenda. Moreover, he had a year of research in the South Pacific, mainly in Easter Island, on his resume (made possible through the auspices of Paul Rivet and the Trocadero museum), and had spent two further years (1935-36) at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu analyzing his research and writing a classical monograph on Easter Island.

His likely goal at this point was to land an academic position in a reputable American university. He relied on his contacts with Kroeber, Lowie and Father John Cooper to achieve this. But the task proved more difficult than he had anticipated. In 1938 he replaced Lowie at Berkeley for a semester and in 1939 became visiting professor at Yale. But his positions were tenuous and poorly paid. His personal life too was in disarray. He had just divorced his first wife, Eva Spiro, with whom he had translated Lowie's Primitive Society into French—the book which Claude Levi-Strauss admits turned him into an anthropologist. Metraux had financial responsibilities for his mother, sister, former wife and child—all of whom were living in Honolulu.

It is at this point that Metraux began corresponding with Julian Steward regarding his possible contributions to a Handbook of South American Indians which the Smithsonian was planning to publish with moneys provided by the State Department. The need for a compilation of this nature was first discussed in the late twenties by Nordenskiold, Kroeber, Lowie and Metraux himself. Metraux, as well as his friend and colleague Levi-Strauss, had great admiration for the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and the impressive list of ethnographic publications on Indian cultures of North America it had issued over the years. He could not imagine a better place to work and continue his research in the field. At first, though, Metraux was hired by Steward on the basis of commissioned chapters which he would write in Yale and submit to Washington for a fee. The correspondence with Steward, very cordial initially, became more difficult with the passage of time as the two entered into the discussion of professional matters. It must have been uncomfortably obvious to both of them that Metraux was the ethnographer with extensive fieldwork experience among South American Indians. Steward, on the other hand, did not speak Spanish or Portuguese, and his attempt to do fieldwork in Peru in 1938 had resulted in an embarrassing fiasco. Yet, Steward was in the position of power and it is clear from the letters exchanged by the two anthropologists that he did not hesitate to assert this authority.

Metraux was finally hired on a full-time basis by the Smithsonian in 1941 to work on the Handbook. At the same time he obtained his American citizenship, which he had applied for during his tenure at the Bishop Museum. By then he had met and married Rhoda Bubendey, a former student of Bronislaw Malinowski at Yale. But the problems with Steward were endemic. Both scholars had quite opposite approaches to the handbook enterprise. Perhaps what infuriated Metraux more than anything else was the fact that Steward, with no fieldwork experience in South America, attempted to organize the Handbook in a rigid taxonomic way, in line with his personal theories of cultural areas. Metraux thought otherwise about classification. He did not care for the cultural area framework. As the minutes of the planning meetings for the Handbook show, he saw the publication of this ambitious collection as an opportunity to rethink and explore the entire field of South American ethnology. A priori classifications were not a useful tool for him. The telling minutes of these early meetings show that Metraux and a young Levi-Strauss argued this last point consistently. In 2001, I had the chance to interview Levi-Strauss in

Paris about this particular issue. He confirmed that he and Metraux were trying to make Steward understand that it was a mistake to use the writing of the Handbook as a reason to place Indian groups into ready-made taxonomic pigeon holes. The format that Steward wanted for the articles also infuriated Metraux, who still believed in the freer style that had been his policy as editor of the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia.

To celebrate the publication of the first volume of the Handbook in 1944, a party was organized at the Smithsonian castle. When Metraux saw that the first volume did not credit him as co-editor, he left the room. It was assumed by his colleagues at the Handbook, including Gordon Willey, that Metraux would be named co-editor. Metraux, Willey told me in an interview in 2001 at his office in the Harvard Peabody Museum, was the only member of the staff of the Handbook who could compile, off the top of his head and in half an hour, a complete bibliography on the most arcane topic regarding a South American Indian group. Willey himself confessed to doing the pilgrimage to Metraux's office seeking that kind of help on several occasions.

There was something else that bothered Metraux about living in Washington in the 1940s. In 1939, as recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship and on his way to Argentina to do further researches among the Indians of the Gran Chaco, Metraux stopped in West Africa and was overcome by the explosion of life and the richness of African cultures. He wrote to his friend Yvonne Odon that he felt his life had been wasted for not having a direct experience of Africa before. This is where his serious interest in the history of Africans in America began, an interest that took him later to Haiti, Bahia and Benin, and consolidated his friendships with French colleagues such as Roger Bastide, Pierre Verger and Michael Leiris, among others[7]. In the US, it led to his relationship with Melville Herskovits, probably the most supportive and personal relationship that Metraux had with an American anthropologist. It was Herskovits who proposed Metraux to the Carnegie Institution as the ideal candidate to undertake and write the study that resulted in the publication of An American Dilemma, the monumental work on "The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy" which Carnegie finally assigned to Gunnar Myrdal. Metraux, one of the finalists, always regretted this missed opportunity.

As a child in Mendoza, and later as a young ethnographer in Tucuman, Metraux had witnessed the predicament of uprooted African peoples and cultures in a new American milieu. The differences between those experiences in Argentina and the ones he confronted in a segregated Washington D.C. were difficult to assimilate. He could not accept that a scholar like Franklin Frazier, the sociologist from Howard University, could not go to the movies with him or to certain restaurants. In short, Metraux could not understand nor justify apartheid.

When a permanent position opened at the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and the position was offered to the much younger Gordon Willey, Metraux was thoroughly disappointed. He considered applying for a teaching job at Howard University where he had friends interested in hiring him. But what eventually happened changed Metraux's career. Since the outbreak of the war in Europe he had hoped to be useful to the French in Northern Africa. Instead—and rather unexpectedly—it was the US government who sought him out, offering him a position in the Morale Division, one of twelve that composed the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS). The USSBS was hurriedly put together during the last months of 1944. Its general purpose was to assess the effectiveness of "strategic bombing" in crippling the German war industry and economy. The Morale Division was charged with interviewing German civilians and determining

whether the bombing had undermined their resolve to fight and to continue to support the Nazi regime.[8] Metraux worked in Germany as an ethnographer of the misery of war from April to August of 1945. His diaries from that experience will be published shortly by Blackwell, together with the letters he wrote to Rhoda during the mission.[9] It was this searing experience in Europe—the utter inhumanity of concentration camps and flattened Medieval cities—that turned Metraux into an applied anthropologist. He wrote from Germany to his wife in New York that the depth of human suffering inflicted by the War would take years to heal and that anthropologists were needed in Europe to help resolve the urgent problems created by hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced peoples. Out of these concerns came Metraux's work, first for the United Nations in New York in 1946, and after 1948 at UNESCO in Paris.

Living in Paris after the War and heading an important department in a new and idealistic international cultural institution enabled Metraux to play a role, not yet acknowledged nor studied, in the consolidation of modern French academic anthropology.[10] His friendship with Claude Levi-Strauss—for whom he felt great admiration and with whom he met almost daily—was important for both scholars. When Levi-Strauss was finally appointed to the College de France in the early 1950s after the publication of Tristes Tropiques, he showed a very keen entrepreneurial sense which allowed him to found the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale and begin to recruit students that were soon sent to do fieldwork in different continents. From his position at UNESCO, Metraux was able to provide funding for many of these students. Levi-Strauss, in turn, had Metraux appointed as lecturer at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes to teach a course on the history of anthropology, a subject, according to Levi-Strauss, no one in France knew better than he.

To fully develop these themes would require a much larger space. I would like to close this preliminary survey by drawing attention to some very sensitive aspects of the biography of Metraux. Since 1934 he had kept a diary, expressly with the purpose of exorcising the recurrent moods of depression that assailed him. A section of these diaries was published posthumously by Payot in France in 1978 with the title Itineraries 1. But there are significant portions of his "carnets" that remain unpublished, some of which are of great interest for the history of anthropology.

In the late 1950's Jean Malaurie approached Metraux as he had once approached Claude Levi-Strauss to commission Tristes Tropiques. Malaurie wanted Metraux to write an autobiographical book summing up his incredibly varied life—a life which had taken him from walking the streets of Buenos Aires with Jorge Luis Borges to fieldwork in the Gran Chaco and Bolivia, to Easter Island, Benin, Haiti, the Amazon, and to and Germany in 1945; and a life that was constructed as well upon significant friendships with anthropologists such as Nordenskiold, Mauss, Levi-Strauss, Lowie, Leiris, Herskovits and others, and with a host of artists and writers that would be too long to mention here. During the course of an interview with this author in 2001, Malaurie stated his firm conviction that this projected book by Metraux would have been extraordinary and would have, "changed the course of French anthropology." [11] The chosen title of the book, La Terre Sans Mal, "Land Without Evil,"—the name of a Tupi-Guarani myth that Metraux had studied at the beginning of his career—suggested the opening of two doors: one to the discipline, another to the author's personal world. In that book, the two discursive avenues which had sustained Metraux's intellectual and emotional life—one public, the other private—would have converged in a meditation summating his work and reconciling it with his life. Malaurie, who had seen the plan of the book, chapter by chapter, thought of it as a liberating piece both for Metraux and

for French anthropology. A disciple of Giambattista Vico—his most unexpected and invisible mentor and a novelist "manque"—Metraux was perhaps finally ready to invent a literary genre that would express him fully, to create A New Science of his own. As we know, Metraux committed suicide in 1963, before La Terre Sans Mal had advanced beyond the planning stages. He chose a spot, an hour outside Paris, in a forest that reminded him of the Amazon. And faithful to his long habit of exorcising his demons in writing, he died recording in a notebook a wild ethnography of his own passing; a mixture of farewells, of love for life, of enigmatic one-liners and classic quotations, jotted down as the barbiturates took hold. His last words were "everything ends in a book," and in the Spanish of his childhood, "Adios Alfredo Metraux."

---

[1] Interview by the author with Mme. Vera Conne, June 2000.

[2] To obtain his doctorate, Metraux presented two theses in 1928, La civilisation materielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani (dedicated to his father) and La religion des tupinamba et ses rapports avec celles des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani (dedicated to Marcel Mauss). A third title, Migrations historiques des Tupi-Guarani, published a year earlier, announced Metraux's interest in the myth "The Land Without Evil," which he would later borrow for the title of his intended autobiography.

[3] In 1922, after just one year studying with Mauss and when he was only 21, Metraux took a leave of absence to spend 8 months doing fieldwork in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile. Details of this extraordinarily ambitious tour through very different geographical and cultural areas can be found in Jean-Pierre Le Bouler, "Alfred Metraux en 1922: de l'Ecole des Chartes a l'Amerique du Sud," in Dominique Lecoq, ed., Presence d'Alfred Metraux (Paris, 1992), 129-139.

[4] The industrialists and bourgeoisie of Sao Paolo would undertake a similar project a few years later, founding a university which was staffed by Fernand Braudel and Claude Levi-Strauss, among others.

[5] There was a clear intention behind this to gather intelligence about areas of interest to France. Other protégés of Rivet were Jacques Soustelle, Jehan Veillard (who accompanied Levi-Strauss during the Serra do Norte expedition of 1939 in Brazil) and Maurice Leenhardt. Whether Metraux acted as an intelligence officer of sorts for the French government in Argentina is yet to be documented. One thing is certain to this author at least: Metraux was temperamentally unsuited for the role.

[6] On several occasions, Metraux complained to his second wife Rhoda Bubendey Metraux, a one-time editor for Oxford University Press who also edited his English texts, that switching from one language to another had ruined his style in French and was confusing to him.

[7] The friendship with Verger was probably the closest Metraux had in his lifetime. They were born the same day and the same year and considered themselves "astral twins" in the manner of the Yoruba *ibeji*. Their correspondence has been published in Jean-Pierre Le Bouler, Le Pied a l'Etrier (Paris: Jean Michel Place, 1994).

[8] The poet W.H. Auden, who was also part of the Morale Division, commented wryly in a letter to a friend that their task was to find out if people liked being bombed. Metraux had his own reasons for accepting the job. He considered it an extraordinary opportunity to do an ethnography in Europe during exceptional circumstances.

[9]In press. Alfred Metraux, The Morale Division. An Ethnography of the Misery of War, edited and with an introduction by Edgardo Krebs.

[10] Metraux had a series of positions and titles during his time at the UN and UNESCO, all of them in the Division of Social Sciences. At UNESCO he directed an important series of studies on race and racial prejudices as well as a project on basic education in Marbial Valley, Haiti. All these activities were under the umbrella of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which had been passed by the UN in 1946.

[11] The author wishes to thank the Wenner Gren Foundation for supporting his research in Paris during the years 2000 and 2001 through a grant from its Historical Archives Program.

HERITAGE IN SOUTHERN AND EASTERN AFRICA: IMAGINING AND MARKETING PUBLIC CULTURE AND HISTORY

Lyn Schumaker
Centre for the History of Science, Technology and Medicine
University of Manchester

From 5-8 July 2004, nearly seventy delegates from Africa, the US and Europe convened in Livingstone, Zambia, for a conference on 'Heritage in Southern and Eastern Africa'. The organizers chose Livingstone because it is the home of the Livingstone Museum (founded in 1934) and near the world heritage site Victoria Falls. Having the conference in Zambia also facilitated the attendance of African scholars, curators, archivists, archaeologists and representatives of the heritage industry from eastern and southern Africa and, especially, from the relatively neglected area of central Africa.

This conference aimed to explore how the culture and history of central, southern and eastern Africa are imagined and represented in public places such as museums, monuments and heritage sites. In recent years the issues surrounding heritage have sparked public debate throughout the region and have been the object of a large body of academic writing. The end of colonial rule and apartheid necessitated the decolonization of public displays in line with the creation of new national and postcolonial identities. Furthermore, the growth of tourism and recognition of the industry's development potential focused attention on sites and traditions potentially exploited for tourist income, raised the profile of archaeology, and reinvigorated museum studies. This trend also politicized not only issues relating to the distribution of tourist revenue, indigenization and local involvement, but also raised questions relating to whose heritage is being represented by whom and how. The mounting popularity of cultural tourism has led to a proliferation of 'traditional villages' and commoditized re-inventions of authentic local life for international visitors. These various public representations of culture and history thus play a key part in the production of ideas not only about national community and the colonial past, but also about ethnicity and Africanness, tradition and modernity.

The rationale motivating this conference, its topic and its site, was to encourage the presentation of papers by African scholars at work on contemporary issues of public culture and material culture in eastern and southern Africa. During the conference, African anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, human geographers, museum curators and others engaged with expatriate scholars in exploring topics that have been the subject of much